302

Top to bottom: Timalarua, the canoe maker; Tiwi spears; mourning ceremony around graveposts.

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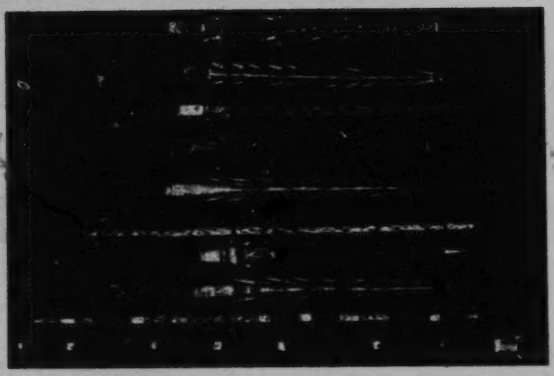

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1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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(Australian aborigines from the mainland) they were not Tiwi and hence not real people, or at least not human enough to share the islands with the chosen people who owned them.

Thus, the word "Tiwi" did not mean "people" in the sense of all human beings, but rather "we, the only people," or the chosen people who live on and own the islands, as distinct from any other alleged human beings who might show up from time to time on the beaches. This exclusion of outsiders from real "us-ness" and hence from real "human-ness" was continued when the Europeans began to arrive in the early nineteenth century, and certainly as late as 1930 the Tiwi continued to call and think of themselves as Tiwi, *the* people, and to use other words for all non-Tiwi, whether they were mainland aborigines, Malay fishermen, Japanese pearl-divers, French priests, or British officials, who penetrated into their exclusive little cosmos.

Their firm tradition that the twenty-five miles of ocean were adequate to isolate them from the mainland is confirmed by certain objective distributional evidence. Several characteristic features of mainland native technology were absent on Melville and Bathurst Islands, notably the spear thrower and the curved (or return) boomerang. To anthropologists, the idea of an Australian tribe lacking spear throwers and curved boomerangs is almost a contradiction in terms, and the only feasible explanation is isolation and hence failure of these mainland traits to diffuse to the islands.[1]

That no culture stands absolutely still in its technology no matter how isolated it may be is suggested by the fact that the Tiwi, while lacking the spear thrower and curved boomerang of the mainland, elaborated their wooden spears to a complexity of design and a degree of decoration unknown on the mainland, and also developed a much greater assortment of straight throwing sticks, made of hardwood, than any mainland tribe. Moreover, their carved and elaborately painted grave posts are unique among Australian tribes, and point up both the Tiwi isolation from the mainland and the favorable food situation which permitted the leisure time necessary to manufacture the elaborate posts as well as the elaborate ceremonial spears. In the nontechnological aspects of their culture we find in many respects the same absence of mainland traits and the same elaboration of traits that were distinctively or even uniquely Tiwi. Male initiation ceremonies on the mainland focus upon circumcision or subincision or both; neither custom was practiced by the Tiwi, who instead included in their initiation ritual the forcible plucking out of the pubic hair of the novice. The degree of plural marriages achieved under their marriage rules was far greater than anything reported for the mainland; the absolute prohibition of any female, regardless of age, being without a husband was unknown elsewhere in Australia; certain features of the kinship system fail to conform to any of the mainland norms, and so on. Wherever we look in their culture we get the strong impression of an Aus-

[1] A toy spear thrower, played with by children, was in use, but this may be the result of post-white contact. Its native name—*pani*—seems most un-Tiwi, and a likely guess is that it was introduced by Cooper's mainlanders, being accepted as a toy for children but scorned as childish by the adult men.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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quietly slipped away to some other camp and was not seen the following morning. The matter might then die, depending largely on whether the old husband wanted to carry it further or was content to drop it. If the young man was still in camp the following day, the old man might insist on a duel then and there, but it would take place only if the camp were large, since Tiwi duels were essentially legal actions and as such needed a sizable audience for their correct staging. Disputes between men, of which old men accusing young men of seduction were by far the most common type, usually remained at the verbal level until a large body of spectators was available. Since such large concentrations of many households were necessary for the performance of the main collective ceremonials, it was at the time of these ceremonials that most verbal arguments were pushed by the aggrieved party to the action level.

During the dry season (April to November) when travel was easy, the only collective ceremonials sufficiently important to draw together a large number of households were those held for the funerals of big men. In the wet season (November to March) when the grass and bush were high and travel was difficult, the main collective phases of the male initiation ceremonies were held (see Chapter 4), and these brought together for a few weeks at a time large numbers of households. The funeral ceremonies for adults were always held some considerable time after the death and burial of the deceased. How long a period elapsed between the death and the funeral ceremonies depended on the expected size of the gathering, and this figure correlated, at least roughly, with the importance of the deceased. Here again the overriding consideration was food supply, since the chief mourners (that is, the deceased's closer relatives) had to feed everybody who came to the funeral while the ceremonies lasted, which might be almost a week. The more important the dead person the bigger the crowd at his funeral, and hence the greater the amount of time needed by the mourners to arrange the catering. As much as a year might elapse between the death and the time when the mourners felt that the funeral arrangements—especially the food supply, but also the ceremonial preparation —were sufficiently well in hand to permit them to set a date and send out invitations for the funeral ceremonies. Funerals, therefore, were not held at regular times but were individually scheduled at times fixed by the chief mourners. They were always held in the dry season, however (except those of young children, to which nobody came in any case), and therefore an old man who had a dispute to settle or a case to try publicly could always depend on a few big funerals being held in the not very distant future which would provide the large audience necessary to make the settlement of the dispute legal. During the wet season the *kolema* phases of the initiation ceremonial always drew a large attendance; the annual time of these was pretty definitely fixed by the ripening of the *kolema* yams.

Hence the verbal wrangles in the small scattered encampments at night, about seduction during the day, could have any one of three outcomes, depending largely upon the determination of the old man-accuser and the demeanor of the young man-accused. If by the following morning the young man had disappeared and showed no further interest in the old man's menage, the

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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staged and this was usually sufficient to incapacitate the offender and make him decide to move—at least for a while—into some other district. The group thus hastily convened to mete out public justice seldom numbered more than sixty or seventy people (seven or eight households) and having been convened *ad hoc* would remain camped together only for the forty-eight hours or less needed to deal with the emergency.

Joint Activities

This discussion of the alternative lines of action open to an outraged household head enables us to specify the relatively rare occasions during the year when the dull, quiet, day-by-day, food-gathering routines of the dispersed household camps were interrupted by events that required many households to gather together in one place and indulge in joint action. Foremost among these occasions were big funerals and the *kolema* ceremonial, both of which were mentioned above. These were the main religious events of the year, full of dancing, singing, wailing, and excitement. The excitement was the psychological result of so many people being together at the same time, a rare experience in the life of any Tiwi. Since the *kolema* ceremonial was an annual event and even the most enthusiastic funeral goer did not attend more than three or four really big funerals in the course of a year, we may reckon that even an old and important man, much concerned with ritual observances, would probably find himself a participant in such crowd activities on not more than some six occasions per year. For less important men and for women and children the number of such occasions was less than six. The *kolema* ceremonial lasted two weeks or more, big funerals, even when they became the occasion for carrying on other public business, did not last more than four or five days each. Hence we may reckon an average of about a week each for the half-dozen times a really big man spent in the company of a sizable crowd of fellow tribesmen, giving a total annual average of about six or seven weeks at most out of every fifty-two—or a little less than 10 percent of the year spent by an old important man in large ceremonial activities or what Durkheim calls the collective life of the tribe.

In addition there were the smaller gatherings, such as the funerals of younger men and most women, and the calling together of a number of households to settle a dispute in the manner we have described above. These were collective occasions also but they brought together a considerably smaller crowd. A really big man's funeral was likely to draw over three hundred people or even as much as one-third of the whole tribe.[4] Not only did many

[4] Tamboo's funeral in May 1929 (he died in the previous August) drew practically the full band membership (men, women, and children) of the four Bathurst Island bands; almost all the Munupula; many Mandiimbula; and large delegations from the remaining three bands. With such a crowd, an actual head count was difficult, especially of the children, but there must have been over four hundred people present. Needless to say, excitement was intense; more fights occurred, more insults were exchanged, more ancient feuds revived and new ones started, and more food consumed than at any funeral in living memory. At least that was the opinion of Tamboo's chief mourners, but since it was they who threw the party and had to pay for it, they may have been biased.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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Not only did many

people come to such a funeral to express their kinship with, and pay their respects to, the deceased, but as mentioned above, many men with disputes to settle or fights to pick let such matters ride until the next big funeral was called and then took advantage of the large crowd to provide the necessary witnesses for the transaction of the outstanding legal business. Gatherings of many households for purely legal affairs, without funerals or *kolema* ceremonial as the main *raison d'etre* for the gathering, were comparatively rare and when they did occur they were usually called by one man, to settle one case only, and hence did not promote the attendance of very many households. Similarly, the funerals of most women and of younger and therefore less important men drew together at most ten or twelve households and a few other individuals, so that the crowd was usually not above one hundred people at the most. A single *ad hoc* legal duel, even when an episode in a long-drawn out and notorious dispute, seldom drew more than this number. Duels always attracted some spectators who came for the excitement, even though not personally involved, provided of course they were camped somewhere in the vicinity.

This second type of collective gathering, of which the smaller funerals and the single duels were the main occasions, might then require the attendance of a household head, accompanied by some or all of his household members, perhaps five or six times a year. These gatherings would each last less than forty-eight hours, and since the people the household head met at them would mostly be people of his own band or of closely adjoining bands, the excitement of seeing unfamiliar faces—people not seen for over a year perhaps—would be absent. We may reckon that attendance at these smaller, more localized gatherings, and the participation in group activity which they entailed, took up two more weeks, all told, out of the yearly round. When these two weeks are added to the six or seven already estimated for the time spent by a busy public man at the large gatherings, we find that even the busiest and most gregarious senior elders spent less than ten weeks out of the fifty-two in collective activity outside their immediate households.

To complete the list of occasions which called for joint activity by the members of several households, we must include the joint kangaroo hunt. This activity was very localized and very spasmodic, occurring only when and where conditions were right and somebody felt sufficiently energetic to organize it. Much of the Tiwi country is a mixture of dense scrub and relatively open savannah; kangaroo are relatively easy to hunt in the latter but very hard to get near in the denser types of vegetation. The native method of hunting was based on getting as close as possible to the animal before it saw or heard the hunter. If it detected the hunter, it fled, and no Tiwi in his senses ever threw a spear or a throwing stick at a moving kangaroo.[8] Only when the animal was standing still and the hunter was close enough to aim carefully at a vital part was the spear thrown. At certain seasons of the year, particularly after the end of the wet and early in the dry season, many sections of good kangaroo country gave very poor hunting returns because the grass had become

[8] The up-and-down movement of a hopping kangaroo in flight makes it an extraordinarily difficult target even for skilled white hunters armed with shotguns or rifles.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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outdance and out-sing and out-party most of the men fifty years younger than himself.[8] 159 888

Since Tu'untalumi was a senior Tiwi household head who spent more of his time attending festivals, funerals, fights, and other collective occasions than did most of his contemporaries, it is instructive to examine his movements over a full year. If he had kept an engagement book during 1928-29, it would have looked something like this: 159 887

Early April (*end of wet season*): Leaves his home base in Tangio where he has spent most of the wet season and visits the Mission station to attend a few small funerals (children who have died at the Mission in the preceding months). During these funerals a series of fights and duels also takes place. Total people present: perhaps fifty or sixty. Time thus spent in helping to wind up public business: five days. Returns home to Tangio and remains there for rest of April. [797]

End of April: Goes to Rangu with a big party of other Tiklauila for a funeral (junior elder). Fairly big funeral, lots of people, lots of disputes. Time away, including leisurely journey to and from Rangu, about two weeks. Gets back home about middle of May. [764 166]

Middle of May—end of June: Lives quietly at home with his household in Tangio.

About July 1st: Goes to Mission for a few days, "visits" with whoever is there. Tries out a new composition of his own (song and dance) on group camped at Mission. Returns home for rest of July. [533 535]

Last week of July: Taking his younger wives and their children with two senior wives in charge of them, sets out for Malau for a big funeral with lots of people and fights. There he performs his new dance; is much consulted on ceremonial matters by the Malauila; gets into a few fights himself but handles them with dignity and honor; remains in Malau two weeks; stops off to visit and attend a small funeral with the Munupula on his way back; has a fight with a Munupula while there; returns to the Mission; stays there a day or two dispensing all the news from Malau and Munupi to those camped there; issues invitations for a grass burning in some sections of Tangio which were not burned in April or May. Goes on home to Tangio where some of his older wives have remained during his absence. Total time away: about three weeks. [166]

End of August: Is joined in Tangio by several other Tiklauila and Rangwila households whom he has invited. Grass burning and joint kangaroo hunting goes on for four or five days. Dancing and partying at night. After five days most of visiting group leave and he and his household remain alone in Tangio until well into October. [224]

[8] There is no suggestion that Tu'untalumi was in any way an official ritual leader. All old men, by virtue of their years, were to some extent ritual leaders; he had merely worked harder and longer at it than most of them. His tirelessly joyful personality had a good deal to do with his success in the self-established role. In a culture that might be thought likely to make all its men gloomy, anxiety-ridden introverts, he was a warm, happy, dignified old extrovert and he was widely admired. [156]

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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[166]

Middle of October: Rains about to commence. Last chance for travel before the wet season. Goes to another district for the naming ceremony of a new baby (he is its mother's father, having bestowed the mother on the man now naming the child). Goes on from there to the Mission. Finds a large party there about to visit the Mandiimbula on Melville Island, ostensibly for a funeral but really for a big argument since Tiklauila-Mandiimbula relations were badly strained at this time.[1] Joins this party.

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They go in force to the Mandiimbula country. Big fight. He is not much involved in the fighting, concentrates on the dancing.

[881
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End of October: Returns to Mission. War party disbands. He returns home to Tangio and remains there until the initiation ceremonies begin in late January. During this period (November-January) makes occasional very short visits to neighboring households and is occasionally visited by neighbors who drop in on him from no great distance away.

[88]

End of January: *Kolema* phase of initiation begins. As guardian of ritual, he is in much demand by the various groups with boys of suitable age. All the Tiklauila and Rangwila households gather together (about 300 people) for nearly four weeks to conduct these ceremonies. Much feasting, much dancing, he in the center of everything. Very few fights or disputes, which is the way he likes it.

End of February: Finish of *kolema* season. Finish of ceremonies. Households disperse. He and his household return to Tangio and remain there for the balance of the wet season, which usually ends toward the end of March.

571

During the year for which we have listed the details, Tu'untalumi attended three big funerals, one big *kolema* ritual, and several small funerals, and made a few other miscellaneous visits to other districts. In addition, he was the host at a joint kangaroo hunt in his own district and attended the naming ceremony of one of his daughters' children. He also was a member of one war party. Although this hectic social whirl totals up to about thirteen weeks spent away from home or with a large party of guests in the home, even the busy and popular Tu'untalumi spent about thirty-nine weeks out of the year living alone with his household and seeing nobody except members of that household. Since there were few other Tiwi as gregarious as he, we may take this figure as an outside limit and conclude that the great majority of "big men" spent at least four-fifths of their time in the isolated environment of the single household, engaged largely in the daily routine of getting a living and supervising their wives and children in their unending food quest.

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[177]
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[1] We have tried to keep out of the text those factors in the 1928-30 situation which were clearly due to post-white influences, and this friction was of that order. Briefly, Mandiimbula fathers with daughters bestowed on Tiklauila husbands were failing to deliver the girls at puberty to those husbands, hoping instead to hire them out as prostitutes to the Japanese pearling boats which periodically visited the Mandiimbula and Ysimpi beaches in search of women. See Chapter 6 for a full discussion of this outside influence as well as that of the Mission, which (for different reasons and motives) was also in the girl-buying business at this time.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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nothing is so startling as to be told that the Tiwi almost completely lacked what we must call "positive" magic. Such familiar mainland practices as bone pointing or "singing" a man to injury or death were completely unknown on the islands, and though references to people dying through supernatural agency were often made, it was very hard to find any positive techniques or known practitioners of such techniques. Briefly the Tiwi may be said to have believed that magical acts were possible but to have lacked any knowledge of how to perform them. If, as anthropology is wont to teach, magic is used in the simpler societies to handle and control the unpredictable or mysterious areas of life, then this absence of magic among the Tiwi needs an explanation. Our hypothesis is that the Tiwi did not use magic in human relations because they had never invented magic for use in other unpredictable areas of life—for example, to control the natural world. And they had never invented magic to control their natural world because their physical environment was on the whole a satisfactory and not a hostile universe.

If we run through the areas of life that many of the simpler peoples use magical means to control, we find that many of them were not problems for the Tiwi. The rainfall and water supply were more than adequate; the food supply was good, needing only people to come and gather it; wild animals (except snakes and crocodiles) were unknown; tropical diseases (except yaws) scarcely existed; cyclones, tornados, and earthquakes were very rare, and thunder and lightning were no more frightening there than in, say, Chicago. Death, of course, is mysterious and unpredictable everywhere, but to handle that they had most elaborate burial and mourning customs that were not magical but collective rituals. Perhaps the most favorable feature in the whole friendly Tiwi universe was the absence of any neighboring tribe. Their cultural isolation removed all fear or suspicion of what the foreigners next door might be up to, and one gets the impression from the literature, though it has not been systematically explored, that the hotbeds of magic making and sorcery were areas of the primitive world, like Melanesia or Central Australia, where people were acutely conscious of their neighbors and always expecting magic and sorcery to be directed by them across the village or tribal boundaries. The Tiwi, having no neighbors, had nobody to be suspicious of except each other, and their suspicions of each other were mostly rational suspicions, of men motivated like themselves and using the same political tricks against each other.

The strongest support for the hypothesis that the Tiwi found their environment a friendly and reassuring universe to live in comes from their wide elaboration and reliance upon the negative form of magic called taboo. As a tribe they were magic free but taboo ridden. Their generic word for anything sacred or forbidden or untouchable was *pukimani*, a word which in its most common form referred to a state of special being in which a person or thing temporarily was. Thus mourners were *pukimani* for the period of their mourning, youths undergoing initiation were *pukimani* during the ceremonies, a woman who had just given birth was *pukimani* for a week or two afterwards. Dead bodies were *pukimani* until buried; graveposts were *pukimani*

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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once erected on the grave; the names of dead people immediately became *pukimani* on their deaths and could not be used, and the same was true of all the names bestowed by a dead man on the children of his household and all the other words in the language that sounded similar to the name of the dead man.[4] All ceremonials and rituals were *pukimani* as were the main performers and the armlets, neck ornaments, and other ceremonial objects. People in a *pukimani* state had to observe all sorts of avoidances of and abstentions from everyday actions, particularly with regard to food and sex. Close relatives of dead people could not touch food but had to be fed by nonmourners. That pillar of rigid orthodoxy, Tu'untalumi, was virtually never able to feed himself but was in a *pukimani* state almost the whole year round and needed one of his wives to feed him. (Another advantage of a large household.) Certain spots in the bush or on the banks of streams were *pukimani* places; the dimly seen outline of the Australian coast was *pukimani* as was the ocean near Cape Keith where the Tiwi ancestors had first created the Tiwi world; and finally, the violation of a *pukimani* restriction rendered the violator *pukimani*.

Pukimani as thus applied to people, places, things, names, words, restrictions, and avoidances, meant both sacred and taboo, and was clearly one of that widespread class of words and concepts that is almost standard among the simpler societies. The only noteworthy thing about its Tiwi form is that *pukimani* was a state which people did not actively seek to enter but which happened to people regardless of their wishes. Furthermore, when a man found himself in a state of *pukimani*, his behavior was automatically prescribed for him and for the duration of his *pukimani* condition he observed his avoidances and his abstentions just as automatically as he dropped them when his *pukimani* period expired. When he became *pukimani*, he punctiliously fulfilled the requirements because if he did not, he was likely to be unsuccessful in his enterprises. Big men simply did not dare to be casual about the requirements lest their reputations suffer and they lose face and influence. Less successful men were occasionally explained as probably being secret violators. "His wives and daughters all seem to die young; he must have broken some *pukimani* restrictions sometime" was a reason often given for somebody's failure to be as successful as he might have been. It was noticeable in such explanations of nonsuccess that the failure, or in our terms the bad luck, was attributed to the violation of the taboos, never to the active displeasure of the spirits. The spirits simply did not figure in the picture.

Apart from the big ceremonial occasions, a Tiwi did not have much concern with religion in his everyday life except through some aspect of the *pukimani* system. It was only through *pukimani* that the sacred world impinged upon him at all for most of the year. Since *pukimani* was a condition that could not be actively sought but "just happened" to a person every so often by such common events as the death of a relative, his wife giving birth, or his

[4] When a man named Tibuki died in 1928, a crisis occurred at the Mission where the natives were supposed to make their requests in pidgin English. How could they now ask for tobacco, since that word was now *pukimani*?

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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sister's son being initiated, the attitude of a Tiwi toward the whole *pukimani* state was essentially a passive attitude. *Pukimani* behavior was something one accepted and conformed to when required; it was in no way an active attempt to change nature, people, food, gods, spirits, or anything else in the universe. It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that since their *pukimani* system offered them no handle by which to seek actively to alter the universe in which they lived, the Tiwi found that universe to their liking as it was. Unlike the tribes of central Australia who lavished a lot of thought upon magical methods of improving the food supply or the rainfall, the Tiwi believed and acted on the belief that as long as they observed their *pukimani* taboos, the food would continue to be as abundant and the rains as regular as they had always been. The central Australians, by seeking to coerce nature through magic, suggest that they found nature unsatisfactory; the Tiwi, by relying upon passive taboo-observance alone, suggest rather that their relationship to nature was an acceptable equilibrium that they wanted to preserve, not change. And if everybody observed his *pukimani* taboos when required, that equilibrium would remain undisturbed. Hence the antisocial man in Tiwi was not the maker of individual magic (he was unknown, anyway) but the nonobserver of taboo. By his nonobservance he threatened to upset the normally satisfactory equilibrium between man and nature. For a senior Tiwi male to be charged publicly with breaking *pukimani* rules was a disgrace and a blow to his prestige and his position in public opinion. His behavior was possibly a sin against the spirits but it was certainly a shame in the eyes of his fellows. *Pukimani* observance was thus a matter of respectability to a much greater degree than it was a matter of pleasing the spirits.

DEATH As was mentioned above, death is the natural phenomenon around which the Tiwi had woven their most elaborate web of ritual. The most frequent and most important Tiwi ceremonies were the mourning ceremonies, and they came in three sizes—small, medium, and large—depending on the age, sex, and importance of the dead person. The mourning ceremonies which drew the crowds were not held until some time after the death and burial. All bodies of dead persons were buried within twenty-four hours of their death by digging a hole near the camp where the death had occurred and placing the body, wrapped in bark, in it. Near most well-used camping spots there was already a graveyard marked by old graveposts, and the latest corpse was buried there or near there. Seldom was the body carried any distance for burial. If a person died even less than a mile from an old burial ground, there was little inclination to carry the body that far. He would be buried, instead, within perhaps a hundred yards of where he died. This had certain awkward repercussions for social organization, since occasionally a person died while away from his home district and, being buried where he died, his ceremonies were held and his posts erected in a district in which his immediate family did not live. Young men often used this to validate a change of residence, giving as their reason for living in a band territory in which they had not grown up, the location there of their father's graveposts.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
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To avoid constant use of the awkward phrase "mourning ceremony," we refer to it as the funeral though it took place some considerable time after the burial of the body. How long a time elapsed between the burial and the funeral depended upon the importance of the dead person. The more important the deceased, the longer it took after his or her burial to prepare for the funeral, both ceremonially and practically. Babies frequently had no funeral ceremonies at all, especially if they died very young and unnamed. Children were given small funerals, held within a month or so after the death, and the people present were merely the members of the local households. Young adult men and all adult women had funerals of medium size, and old men had the biggest funerals of all. Big funerals were rarely held in the wet season because of the height of the grass and bush and the consequent difficulty of travel. The season after the end of the rains (April-May-June) was a favorite time for funerals since by then people were moving again and there was then an accumulated backlog of funerals to be held for people who had died late in the previous dry season or during the wet. The mourning ceremonies of two or more people were sometimes held together; this obviously required that they be buried close together, although they need not have died at the same time. Seeking as usual to increase his importance in the public eye, a man might hold the medium-sized funeral of one of his children at the same time and place as the big funeral of an important elder—provided their graves were close together—even though two or three months had separated the two deaths.

The actual burial of the body immediately after death was usually a small affair attended only by whatever people happened to be in the vicinity. But some Tiwi ancients were on their last legs for months before they finally expired, and it was typical of Tiwi psychology that people should maneuver to be present when a death occurred. Until the anthropologist understood that even death had its political aspects, he could not understand why the Tiwi were always so anxious to hang around the camp of an old man who was taking an awfully long time to die. Since so very little happened at the actual time of death, this desire to be on the spot seemed merely morbid curiosity.[8] But it was not. A death immediately divided the whole tribe into two groups: a small group of relatives who automatically became mourners and therefore in a state of strict taboo, and the rest who were not sufficiently close to the deceased to have to assume a state of *pukimani*. The mourners, being *pukimani*, could do scarcely anything except weep and wail and gash their heads with stone axes. They could not touch the body or wrap it in bark; nor could they dig the grave, nor put the body in, nor fill in the hole. They had to ask non-mourners to carry out these tasks and thus became obligated to those non-

[8] How else was one to interpret the reluctance of Hart's party to move on, after spending three weeks waiting for old Tamboo to die, and the old man still lingered on? "Let's wait another day; maybe he'll die tomorrow" was the invariable response to suggestions that we move. "And if he does die, what will happen?" "Nothing; we'll move on then." But this was early in the fieldwork period, before Hart realized the all-pervasive character of Tiwi opportunism.

1: Hart & Pilling E-5 (1928-1954) 1960
OI20 Tiwi OI20

mourners for their services. Death, in other words, incapacitated the relatives, so the nonrelatives swarmed in to "help" them—that is, take advantage of their incapacity. A man who could say, "I helped to dig your mother's grave" had a hold for the rest of his life over the man or men to whom he could say it. Such a hold was not as strong, of course, as that of a man who could say, "I helped you get your first bestowed wife," but the difference of obligation was only a difference of degree. The Tiwi were always "helping" each other, but the man who was "helped" therefore "owed" something to his helper. At deaths, mourners mourned and nonmourners did the work; therefore the mourners "owed" the nonmourners, and such debts were carried on the same mental ledgers as other debts, such as marriage debts.

When deaths occurred suddenly and unexpectedly, the mourners had to choose their helpers for the burial from the relatively few people present at the time, and were thus often forced to become obligated to men they did not much relish being under obligation to. At the funerals the same bookkeeping mentality prevailed, but since these were not held until months after the death and burial, the chief mourners had time to select their helpers with care and political finesse. Satellites were very useful in this connection, since a man could ask his satellites to perform the necessary ceremonial services and thus get a return from them for the debts of gratitude they already owed him. This was one reason why a skillful Tiwi politician did not by any means select only close kinsmen for satelliteship. A death which made him *pukimani* was likely to make his close kinsmen *pukimani* also, hence he needed some satellites who were not close kinsmen.

In the interval between the burial and the funeral, the chief mourner, on behalf of all the mourners but fairly independently if he were a big man, allocated all the jobs that had to be done in preparation for the funeral. Everybody who came had to be fed by the mourners, and the collection and hoarding of the necessary food devolved on the women of the mourning households. Thus the mourners provided the food, but everything else necessary had to be prepared by nonmourners. The chief item among the ceremonial necessities was the graveposts. The prohibition on mourners approaching the body and the grave extended to the posts, and therefore the cutting, carving, erecting on the grave, and painting of these central features of the funeral ceremonies had to be carried out by nonmourners, "asked to cut the posts" by the chief mourner. Here there was much room for influence maneuvers. A big man acting as chief mourner for a dead relative wanted the funeral to be as lavish as possible, to show his own importance. But the more important the nonmourners he selected to cut the posts for him, the more he owed them for their services. Such a request was in the nature of asking a favor, and to ask a favor was to put oneself in a subordinate position, in terms of influence. The Tiwi power orientation was so ingrained that, even when acting as chief mourner, an elder could not avoid making his requests and allocating the ceremonial tasks so as to gain ground if possible, or at least not lose any ground, in the influence and prestige race.

The mourning ceremonies, though prolonged for several days of con-

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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Circles *a*, *a*, are places where the women stood at *Purukupali's* ceremony, and lines *c*, *c*, the paths they made as they danced toward the central dancing ground, the *milimika*.

According to other informants, the honey-men from Bathurst Island and other groups from western Melville Island assembled and performed an *ilania* at Tuju, while the people from south and south-western Melville Island performed yet another *ilania* at Puntubu (Fig. 1).

At the conclusion of these *ilanias* the mythical people from the west met at Rulijunga, where *Mantinuria*, one of the eucalyptus-tree women (Pl. 18A) had prepared a ceremonial ground for them. Here the assembled people performed another *ilania*, after which they moved off as a body to Timbaranapi, where the "workers", having cut the poles and prepared the *pukamuni* spears, baskets and other paraphernalia, had already assembled for the final *ilania*.

After a ceremonial fight[33] and the performance of the *ilania* ceremony, the men and women travelled to Tapararimi by different paths to carry out the final rituals.

A simple bark painting, Pl. 2A, pictures the *pukamuni* ground of *Purukupali* at Tapararimi.

The lower black space is the ceremonial ground (*milimika*) on which the participants performed their dances, and the white area on the top, the several honey-men, one of whom, *Talinini*, was in charge of the rituals.

The five upright vertical panels are the *tudinis* (*pukamuni* poles); the lower line of black horizontal rectangles represents the red ochre, and the upper line of rectangles, black paint, with which the performers decorated themselves.

The dots represent paint on the bodies of the caterpillar men, the *Makudaienini*, who, at the close of the ceremony, transformed themselves into the Milky Way.

The *pukamuni* rituals and those who mourned beside the poles at Tapararimi are illustrated on a bark painting, Pl. 2D, E.

The central black oval, *c*, is the swift whirlpool off Impanili, where *Purukupali*, walking along the track, *f*, *f*, with his dead son in his arms, drowned himself.

[33] In the ceremonies of the present day, the "workers" when they return from cutting the poles, which are adjacent to the grave, are looked upon as *mopaditis* (spirits of the dead). Before the *ilania* can proceed, the *pukamuni* men and the "workers" take part in a ceremonial fight (Pl. 31D), in which the "workers" (as *mopaditis*) are vanquished. During creation times, a similar fight took place at Timbaranapi, when the *pukamuni* people from the west coast met the "workers" from the east.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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PLATE 23. *The Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Pulanimbuwi decorated for Burial Rituals; B, Pulanimbuwi mourning; C, Rite of Wandiatapinda; D, Final Scene at Grave; E, Pulanimbuwi being washed.

[p.++9]

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

The Logger-head Turtle-woman, Ringa, at Jutapinta

773 At the *pukamani* of *Purukupali*, *Ringa*, the logger-head turtle, with *Garagalini*, the hawk-bill turtle, were responsible for making the large bark ceremonial baskets.[97] When, at the close of the creation period, the men and women changed themselves into creatures or plants, the turtle-women, including *Ringa*, became the sea-going turtles.

×532 778 Pl. 12C deals with the totemic place of the logger-head turtle, a submerged reef, called Jutapinta, some miles north of Karslake Island. The central figure is the reef, the totemic body of the woman, *Ringa*, and the encircling dark-coloured area, *a*, the white sand on the sea bottom. At *b*, is the sea-water, and *c*, *c*, etc., are black rocks under the water, which today are frequented by the logger-head turtles. The yellow bands, *d*, *d*, etc., indicate the seaweed, and the white dotted areas, *e*, *e*, etc., the oysters that live on the reef. The dots, surrounding the central figure, symbolize the eggs inside the body of the logger-head turtle. Unlike the green or hawkbill turtles, the logger-heads do not lay their eggs on the sandy shore.

The Crocodile-woman, Wilinduela, at Wilindu

773 Toward the close of the creation period, the woman, *Wilinduela*, and her sister, *Numanirakala*, were sent out by their brother, *Tukimbini*, to establish totemic centres on northern Melville Island. When they reached Shark Bay, *Wilinduela* stayed on the high ground, i.e., Wilindu Island, while she sent her younger sister to Numanira, a reef uncovered only at low water. Before the two sisters separated, however, they camped together on the mainland at Mundinju (Pl. 10A).

×532 778 The black centre of Pl. 11A, is the totem place of the crocodile-woman on Wilindu Island, the surrounding white circle indicating the jungle around the totemic place. The small black discs are dark-coloured rocks on the cliffs, and the lighter-coloured, rocks on the sea beach. The outer circle is the sea.

On Pl. 11B the central disc is Wilindu Island, while the four circles on its circumference are freshwater springs.

The lower panel *a*, indicates black and *b*, yellow rocks on the coast; *c*, and *e*, *e*, etc., are areas of jungle; *f*, is a rock projecting from the sea, and *h*, the shores of Shark Bay. Poisonous yams, *kuku*, are indicated at *d*, and edible yams at *g*. The many circular discs are oysters on the rocks at Wilindu.

[462] [764] [97] At the conclusion of the present-day burial rites, these baskets, made by the women and painted by the men, are placed on the top of the burial poles as presents to the dead.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

A *mopaditi* has been known to hit an aboriginal on the head with a throwing stick, causing him to foam at the mouth and become stiff and rigid. The natives cure this *mopaditi* sickness by heating pads of paper-bark and pressing them against the sides of the face or over the sick man's ears until his muscles relax.

Once, when a young woman went hunting in the forest by herself, a male *mopaditi* took her away, fed her on a special bush food until she became, like the *mopaditis* themselves, invisible to human eyes. One evening, after many weeks, the *mopaditi* brought the girl back to a place near the camp, stood her against a tree, gave a loud whistle and left.

When relatives found her, she was demented and deaf, with cold, clammy skin and staring eyes. Quickly they lit a fire, heated her hands, and held them, palms inwards, against the sides of her face. When her body became a little warmer, her relatives pressed heated pads of paper-bark against the sides of her face and over her ears, until she went to sleep. After several days of such treatment, the girl recovered and was able to tell what had happened.

The old men warned her never again to go walking in the forest by herself because should the *mopaditis* recapture her, it might not be possible to bring her back to health.

The aborigines also told me about the time when some *mopaditis* stole an old woman, *Incampuna*, took her into the jungle and covered her with boughs. When her relatives found her, sick and unconscious, they brought her back to camp, shouting loudly to stop the *mopaditis* from following. As before, they applied heated pads of paper-bark to "open up" her head until she became well again.

Plate 47A, B, pictures the grave of the wife of the artist, *Muramajua*. At *a*, is the face of the spirit of the wife, the horse-shoe design, *b*, representing her hair. The oval *c*, is a small stringy-bark tree, *o*, a large stringy-bark tree, and *p*, are bloodwood trees near the grave.

At *k*, is a stony hill near the burial place, *l*, *n*, are areas of jungle near by, and *m*, is the forested uplands.

A long fighting-stick, *tumutukamuta*, *g*, and a throwing stick, *muruguna*, *j*, are used by the *mopaditis* to strike their human victims on the head, and make them insensible.

2. DEATH AND BURIAL

Although there were minor differences between the burial of the man, *Wuiamperi*, the details of which I gathered from informants, and the burial

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 of *Pukuimbuwi's* wife, *Nulatini*, which I saw, the general pattern was similar. I shall, however, describe both burials, that of *Nulatini* being the more detailed.

(1) *The Burial of Waniamperi*

On the day that *Waniamperi* died, *Marawani*, one of his near relatives, who wanted the dead man buried near his mother, paid a young "worker"[88] a sum of money and two loin cloths to dig the grave.

When the corpse was brought to the burial ground, a number of relatives had a last look at the dead man before he was laid on a series of logs, placed transversely across the bottom of the grave.

This act was a signal for concerted mourning, the women beating themselves with sticks and the men cutting their heads. For personal safety it is [753] [626] imperative that each man and woman show excessive grief, real or feigned, otherwise the *mopaditi*, annoyed at the lack of grief, will make the offending person ill.

After the mourning died down, the "workers" placed boughs on the body and filled in the grave, leaving a small mound on top (Pl. 24c).

[533] While this work was being carried out, the relatives stood on one side of the grave, either singing the *amburu*, the mourning song, or the rain song of Wailu, the totem of *Tiparawilimiri*, *Waniamperi's* father. To the chanting [535] of this song, the men acted the rain dance (Pl. 30b). The aborigines did not stage the totemic dances or chant the songs belonging to the fire totem of Wuriupi (*Waniamperi's* own totem), because, to have done so, would have especially attracted the attention of his *mopaditi*.

The "workers" laid *Waniamperi's* personal belongings at the base of a tree (Pl. 24d), tied his loin cloth and tobacco to the top of a thin sapling which had been driven into the ground at the head of the grave, made a large fire, and left a container of water.

[775] The aborigines believe that the *mopaditi*, seeing his belongings near at hand, water to drink and fire to warm himself and cook the food he gathers in the surrounding forest, will stay near the grave until the time comes for him to leave the locality.

While the "workers" were engaged on those tasks, the rest of the burial party quietly left, not looking behind, lest the *mopaditi* follow them to their camp.

[767] [88] These "workers" or *wanaras*, being distant relatives of the dead, are in little danger from the *mopaditis*. Therefore, it is safe for them to clean the site, dig the grave, handle the body, and carry out other tasks associated with burial. They are paid for their work by the chief mourners at the final *pukamuni* rituals.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
OI20 Tiwi OI20

Normally, all the belongings of the dead, except those left at the grave, are destroyed. If a man has a canoe, however, it is inherited by a male relative, not necessarily of the immediate family. But the canoe cannot be used until after the final *pukamuni*. It is then painted white and overturned on a smoky fire to drive out the dead man's *mopaditi*. If this ritual were not carried out, the *mopaditi* would warn the sea creatures and spoil the fishing.

(2) *The Burial of Nulatini*

At the death of *Nulatini*, the wife of one of my informants, *Pulanimbuwi*, six men, not closely related to the dead woman, were appointed as "workers".

One of them stayed behind in the camp to cut the hair[83] from the head, face and armpits of the husband, after which he washed himself, donned a *tokwianga* (goose-feather ball) and pulled out his own pubic hairs.

The object of these rituals was to so alter the appearance and so destroy the body odour of the husband that the *mopaditi* of his dead wife, *Nulatini*, would neither recognize nor smell him. For, as mentioned previously, the *mopaditis* of the newly dead are lonely people, always on the look-out to steal the spirit of some living[84] person, as a companion. The husband is in especial danger.

There were no signs of grief at the burial site as the men cleared the ground

[83] In the olden days, the hair of the head was cut with cockle shells and that of the face, armpits, and pubes, removed by plucking. A study of the custom of depilation in Australia may reveal some interesting links.

[84] After the death of *Nulatini* I had a remarkable experience. The aboriginal men came to my tent and told me that, just as the woman was dying, she had called my name three times. As the aborigines believe that the last name called by a dying person is the one whose spirit the *mopaditi* would endeavour to steal, I was warned to take special care of myself. If I left camp, the men told me, I must take one of them to protect me, and if I had to walk around at night, I must always carry a lighted lantern, for, as mentioned earlier (p. 62), all *mopaditis* fear the light.

For a while I heeded the warning of the men (hoping thereby to gain a fuller knowledge of their beliefs about the *mopaditis*), but one day, without thinking, I wandered over a stony ridge to a lagoon, some two hundred yards from my camp.

I had just reached my destination when I heard the aboriginal men excitedly calling my name. Realising the cause of their distress, yet anxious to gather additional information, I did not reply, but went back to camp by a roundabout way. When the men found me safe in my tent, they were most relieved. They told me that when I was missing they had followed my tracks for a while, but lost them on the stony ground (I was wearing soft-soled rubber shoes). Straightaway, the aborigines concluded that *Nulatini's mopaditi* had stolen my spirit, for, they explained, as soon as this happened, my body, being without a spirit, would not leave any tracks on the ground that they could follow, and, as I would have become invisible (like glass), they would have been unable to see me, even though I were close at hand.

The men were convinced that they had saved my life, for, by calling out, they had frightened the *mopaditi* so much that she had dropped my spirit, which had been able to re-enter my body.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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764 and dug the grave, which was about six feet long and five feet six inches deep. But when, in the middle of the afternoon, four men appeared, carrying the body, in a fully extended position, and placed it beside the unfinished grave, a number of women, painted all over in white, sat beside the corpse and cried heart-brokenly until the grave was finished. There was a chorus of wailing [302] from both men and women when one of the "workers" painted *Pulanimbuwi's* [751] body entirely in white (Pl. 23A), as additional camouflage to confuse his wife's *mopaditi*.

The ceremonials associated with the burial started when first the husband, then a near relative, dancing astride the corpse, called out loudly, "*Yook, yook*". This ritual, called *wuramu*, was first introduced by the pelican-man at *Purukupali's* ceremony. At the present time it is performed by close relatives [775] of the dead, its object being to scare the *mopaditi* into the grave where it will not be a menace to the living.

After this ritual, two other men entered the grave and, standing, one either end, took the dead body from those above. Amid the sounds of wailing women and the clapping of men's hands on their buttocks, the corpse was gently laid on a bed of transverse logs on the bottom. Other "workers" cut green branches and placed them across the top of the grave.

The husband, carrying a lighted firestick, then entered the grave, burnt the hair on his legs and left immediately. The aborigines believe that the [775] *mopaditi*, smelling the burnt hair of her husband, and thinking he was beside her, stayed quietly in the grave.

The bushes were thrown into the grave, logs, about five feet long,[88] laid on top, and the hole was filled in, leaving a small mound which was covered with sheets of paper-bark (Pl. 24C). Short sticks were driven into the ground at the head and foot of the grave, on one of which the husband hung the meagre belongings of his wife.

764 Both men and women then performed a series of dances, the men danced 535 the flying fox, shark and crocodile, while both the elder and younger women moved in a line toward the grave, holding large green leaves in their hands, palm upward, symbolizing the dead woman when a small child, being carried by her mother.

A woman, holding her breasts, impersonated *Nulatini's* mother feeding her, while a near male relative mimed the mother carrying *Nulatini* as an infant.

764 At the conclusion, *Pulanimbuwi* seated himself at the head of the grave,

[825] [88] The aborigines explained that the logs kept the dogs from unearthing the body, but as, at the present time, the body is over five feet underground, this does not appear to be the reason. It may be that, when tools were more primitive and graves not so deep, these precautions were necessary.

2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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while one of the "workers" pouring water over him, washed the white paint from his body (Pl. 23E).

This was the signal for another burst of hysterical mourning; the women either beat themselves with sticks or sat in groups, wailing heart-brokenly, while the men, their arms about one another's shoulders, cut one another's heads with knives. The injuries they received, however were superficial, and the cutting and self-flagellations more ceremonial than real.

After the husband danced, the significance of which I was unable to learn, everyone, men, women and children, jumped across the grave. This ritual, originally performed by *Tukimbini* at *Purukupali's pukamuni*, was supposed so to confuse the *mopaditi* of *Nulatini* that, should she leave the grave, she would be unable to find the track to her old camp. The men gave the honey, then the mosquito calls, and the burial ceremony was over.

As the relatives quietly left and returned to camp, the "workers", as in all normal burials, lit a fire for the *mopaditi* to warm herself and to cook her food. They also left water for her to drink. *Pulanimbuwi*, who should have departed with the other mourners, stayed behind and watched these final rituals from the top of a nearby *pukamuni* pole (Pl. 23D).

3. CUSTOMS ASSOCIATED WITH THE GRAVE

(1) *The Determination of the Cause of Death*

Until the performance of the final rituals, about three months after the death of *Waniamperi*, the grave (Pl. 24C), covered with layers of paper-bark, was left undisturbed, except that a screen of boughs had been erected, as instructed by *Jibungliatumi* of Bathurst Island (see message stick, Fig. 5F, G, H), so that the people walking along the motor road leading to our camp could not see it.

For the first few days after the death of *Waniamperi*, distant relatives of the dead man visited the grave and searched for some track or other indications of the cause of death; for the Tiwi, in common with the mainland aborigines, believe that death is the result of the magic of some person or spirit-being, not the result of natural causes.

The morning after the death of *Waniamperi*, someone noticed a wallaby looking at the grave. This, the aborigines assumed, was the man, who, having been responsible for the death,[66] had changed himself into a

[66] This statement requires more explanation than I can give. I do not know personally of any rituals among the Tiwi by which they can magically kill a man, although, no doubt, they exist. Harney and Elkin, 1942, p. 232, refer to a means of attracting the meteor-man, *Papinjuwari*, to an enemy.

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2: Mountford E-5 (1954) 1958
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A

B

C

D

PLATE 24. *The Pukamuni Rituals*
A, Feeding Pukamuni Man; B, Rite of Wandiatapinda; C, The Grave; D, Belongings of Dead Man, Waniamperi.

(p. 72 A)

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

corrobboree of the Melville Islanders, but it appears that he regarded the demonstration as hostile. He writes that "the dance consisted chiefly of the performers leaping two or three times successively out of the sea, and then violently moving their legs so as to agitate the water into a foam for some distance around them, all the time shouting loudly and laughing immoderately; then they would run through the water for eight or ten yards and perform again; and this was repeated over and over as long as the dance lasted."

During none of these ceremonies, or indeed anywhere on the island, did I see anything of totemism in the scientific sense of the word. This fact is in accordance with my observations in Central and North Australia, and my negative evidence is amply borne out by the researches of Drs. W. E. Roth and H. Klaatsch and others.

Pastimes.

The sham-fights of youths with small arrow-shaped spears have already been mentioned. Children were observed upon the beach competing in running and long jump. A favourite amusement of the younger folk on a breezy day is to collect the light globular seed-heads of the "spring rolling grass" (*Spinifex hirsutis*), that grow on every sand-hill near the coast, and take them to the beach and there release them on the hardened sand. Driven along by the wind, these seeds travel over the surface at no mean pace. Allowing them to gain a fair start, the children bolt after them and endeavour to overtake them and pick them up from the ground while dashing past them at full speed in "cow-boy" fashion.

Another game is that of hand-ball. The seeds of the zamia (*Cycas media*) take the place of a small ball. Two lads stand facing one another and hit the seed to and fro with the palms of their hands, after the style of a modern game of tennis.

Despite their keenness of sight and quickness of hand, they are, nevertheless, very backward in catching with their hands an object which is thrown at them.

Burial Method.

The aborigines of Bathurst and Melville Islands have a unique and elaborate method of burial; graves have been found on both islands. It appears that the favourite places for burying the dead are there, where a jungle or mangrove-thicket breaks to the ordinary eucalypt-woodland, usually near to the sea-coast or to a native water.

Historically we have to note several observations in this connection.

Sir Gordon Bremer[1] mentions having discovered a grave on Bathurst Island in 1824. "The situation was one of such perfect retirement and repose that it

[1] *Imperial Parliamentary Paper*, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, London, March 27th, 1843; also in *The Genesis of Queensland*, by H. S. Russell, Sydney, 1888, p. 34.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 displayed considerable feeling in the survivors who placed it there, and the simple order which pervaded the spot would not have disgraced a civilized people. It was an oblong square open at the foot, the remaining end and sides being railed round with trees of 7 feet or 8 feet high, some of which were carved with a stone or shell, and further ornamented by rings of wood, also carved. On the tops of these posts were placed the waddies of the deceased. . . . At the head was placed a piece of a canoe and a spear, and round the grave were several little baskets made of the fan-palm leaf, which, from their small size, we thought had been placed there by the children of the departed. Nothing could exceed the neatness of the whole; the sand and the earth were cleared away from the sides, and not a shrub or weed was suffered to grow within the area."

Major Campbell,[1] who in 1826 relieved Captain Barlow as commandant of Fort Dundas, in his interesting memoir to the Royal Geographical Society also refers to native graves observed by him. He writes: "It appears to be the custom of the natives to bury their dead, their burial places being in retired spots near their most frequented encamping ground. The burial place is circular, probably 10 or 12 feet in diameter; it is surrounded by upright poles, many of which are formed at the top like lances and halberds, 14 or 15 feet high; and between these the spear and waddies (probably of the deceased) are stuck upright in the ground." This description applies equally well to those seen by us, with the exception that the cleared circular space was considerably larger in our case, while the height of the posts, above the ground, was less.

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171 764 In 1847, Bete Jukes,[2] naturalist to the expedition of H.M.S. "*Fly*," described and figured a native tomb seen at Port Lihou in Endeavour Strait; "Round a central mound of sand there had been a broad ditch or hollow scooped out and swept quite clean for several yards in width. The mound was of a quadrangular form, 8 feet long, 4 feet wide, and 3 feet high. A stout post stood upright at each corner, and the sides were ornamented by rows of the ribs of the dugong placed regularly along them. . . . On each post was either a large shell or the skull of a dugong, and on the grave were several other dugongs' skulls and shells of the *Nautilus pompilius*. All these, as well as the posts, were smeared with red ochre." Additional interest is attached to the description of Jukes, since he states that "between the two posts, near the sea, a long stick had been inserted, ornamented with feathers and streamers of grass, and fastened to the post by other cross-sticks similarly ornamented." From this wording, and more so from the figure reproduced by him, it would seem that the decoration between the posts was one of those sacred ornaments to which I have elsewhere referred as the *wanaingi*.[3]

[778 114]

[1] *Proc. Roy. Geog. Soc.*, London, 1834, vol. iv, p. 158.

[2] *Narrative of the Surveying Voyage H.M.S. "Fly,"* vol. i, pp. 149 and 150 (1847).

[3] *Vide* also George French Angas, *S. Australia*, illustrated, 1847, Plate XXIV; Edge Partington, Album III, Plate CXIV; Spencer and Gillen: *Native Tribes Cent. Australia*, pp. 230 and 231; W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies, Queensland Aborigines*, Fig. 427;

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Notes on The

A record of something of the kind having existed on the mainland is contained in MacGillivray's narrative (1852). In referring to the burial-ceremonies of natives of the Cobourg Peninsula, this author[1] states that "when decomposition has gone on sufficiently far, the bones are carefully removed, painted red, wrapped up in bark, and carried about with the tribe for some time; after which they are finally deposited, either in a hollow tree or a shallow grave, over which a low mound of earth and stones is raised, occasionally ornamented with posts at the corners."

This same author refers to similar burial ceremonies which he observed of the "Kowraregas," natives inhabiting the Prince of Wales group of islands, situate near Cape York in Torres Strait. He writes[2] of a grave he saw at Port Lihou, some time after Bete Jukes' visit: "When the head of a family dies at Muralug, the body is laid out upon a framework[3] of sticks raised a foot from the ground and is there allowed to rot . . . until the head of the corpse becomes nearly detached by the process of putrefaction, when it is removed and handed over to the custody of the eldest wife. . . . The body, or rather the headless skeleton, is then interred in a shallow grave, over which a mound is raised, ornamented by wooden posts at the corners painted red, with sometimes shells or other decorations attached to them. . . ."

Perhaps it would not be out of place to make a passing reference to the native burial-place discovered by Captain Sturt[4] near Lake Buddah, off the Macquarie River, in New South Wales (latitude 32° 5′, longitude 148° 10′). "It consists of an oblong mound, with three semicircular seats. A walk encompassed the whole from which three others branched off, for a few yards only, into the forest. Several cypresses, overhanging the grave, were fancifully carved on the inner side, and on one the shape of a heart was deeply engraved." A similarity of method will be apparent. Instead of having separate carved posts surrounding the grave, the natives of Macquarie River carved the trees surrounding it. The walk encompassing the mound might be regarded as the equivalent of the cleared space characteristic of the island graves.

Mr. P. Foelsche and I have described painted and ornamented poles that are erected close to the graves of deceased members of the Larrekiya tribe in the Port Darwin district.[5]

During our geological explorations of the north-west coast of the Northern

R. Clement, *Publication of Royal Ethnological Museum at Leiden*, series ii, No. 6 (Catalogue by J. D. E. Schmeltz), vol. xvi, Plate V, Fig. 8; H. Basedow, *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxviii, 1904, pp. 22 and 28, Plate III, Fig. 4; H. Klaatsch, *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1906, pp. 792, and 1907, p. 854.

[1] J. MacGillivray, *Narrative of the Voyage of H.M.S. "Rattlesnake,"* 1852, vol. i, p. 149.

[2] *Op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 32.

[3] *Vide* references given by me in *Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 6.

[4] *Vide* Charles Sturt: *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Southern Australia*, London, 1834, vol. i, p. 14, and frontispiece.

[5] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. v, 1882, p. 5, and *op. cit.*, vol. xxxi, 1907, p. 7.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

764 Territory in 1905, Messrs. Brown and Gee[1] found, near Luxmore Head on Melville Island, "a grave enclosed by wooden slabs, portions of which had been burnt. Aboriginal markings were faintly discernible in places on the wood, and some of the posts had the wood cut away at the top, leaving two spike-like horns at the sides; others had the wood cut away from the outside towards the centre, leaving a short spike standing up in the middle of the post."

As I was examining the Rivers' country on the mainland at the time, I did not personally see the find.

Soon after Professor H. Klaatsch, when visiting Melville Island, discovered close to the site of the old naval settlement of Fort Dundas a "grave decorated by monuments." Professor Klaatsch[2] describes the find as follows: "The grave was surrounded by nine wooden pillars, arranged in an elongated oval, each post differing in size and shape from its fellow. The longest was about 6 feet, and each was variously painted in yellows and reds."

114 Bremer, Campbell, and Klaatsch found implements and weapons, presumably
764 the belongings of the deceased, lying upon the grave or the grave-posts or stuck upright into the ground. They mention spears, waddies, bark water-vessels and baskets of fan-palm leaves.[3] No relics of this kind were noticed by me; in explanation thereof I state that such are likely to be destroyed by the numerous bush-fires occurring on the island, and secondly, in the case presently to be described, on account of the immature age of the individual, since children rarely are in possession of any belongings. I have, however, recorded[4] a similar custom from Central Australia.

764 The discovery I am now about to describe was made in the south-eastern corner of Bathurst Island. The grave was situated not far from the coast and on the edge of a eucalypt forest, adjoining a thicket of mangroves (*vide* Plate XIII, Figs. 1 and 2). The space was cleared; a circular patch of ground, 8 metres in diameter, had been artificially elevated by a few centimetres and swept clean.[5] It was bestrewn with numerous burnt fragments of shells of the edible *Telescopium fuscum* and *Cyrena essingtonensis*, and also with ashes. In the centre of the elevated patch was a small elongated oval mound, which indicated where the corpse had been buried. The direction of its longer axis was north-west by south-east. Five ornamented posts[6] surrounded the small mound in an irregular way;

[1] *Vide Report on Explorations by Govt. Geologist and Staff*, 1906, p. 28, and *Proc. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, vol. xi, 1907, p. 546.

[2] *Proc. Austr. Assoc. Adv. Science*, vol. xi, 1907, pp. 586-8, and *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, vol. xxxix, 1907, pp. 678 *et seq.*, Plate IX.

[3] *Cf.* H. Basedow, *Proc. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxi, 1907, p. 38, Figs. 40 and 41.

[4] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, vol. xxviii, 1904, p. 24, Plate VI, Fig. 1.

[5] Whether this was done to guard the grave-posts against bush fires or to facilitate the detection of an imaginary visit of the evil spirit ("devil devil"), as is the case in Central Australia, or both, is still unsettled.

[6] Another grave, situated not far from the one under consideration, was surrounded by the remnants of nine posts.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

Notes on the

four skirting the north-eastern edge and only one standing on the opposite side, near to the south-eastern end. Before I exhumed the skeleton, the natives informed me that a male infant had been buried there. I am inclined to believe that this information was gathered from the arrangement of the posts and their markings, rather than that they recollected the identity of the child. The grave had apparently stood for some years, for upon digging down to the skeleton, several fair-sized roots of trees, that had grown subsequently, had to be cut through. At a depth of half a metre a layer of decayed pieces of timber, longitudinally laid, was found; under this rested the skeleton. It was, indeed, that of an infant, not many months old. Several men of the local tribe gave me voluntary assistance in the exhumation of the skeleton, and did not in the least object to handle the bones and carry them for me. 764

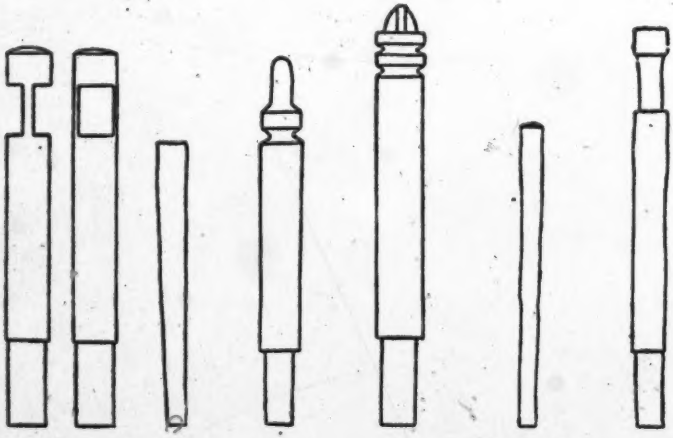

FIG. 4.

The ornamental posts surrounding the little central mound are all of wood, namely the trunks of the heavy iron wood and of a lighter timber (perhaps that of the corkscrew palm or *Pandanus*). They are circular in section and of various diameters and heights. The top ends of the three largest posts are carved in the manner described below. All of them still showed traces of having been painted with ochres in a most elaborate manner. The designs were, however, incomplete, so that I had them freshened up by the natives, who willingly consented to do so and exercised the greatest care to apply the colours in precisely the same positions as they originally occupied. The four posts along the north-eastern edge of the mound stood practically in a straight line, while the remaining one was at the head end of the opposite side. No two of them are alike either in size, method of carving, or colour ornamentation. It is safe to assume that each post has its significance, since the natives could decide the age and sex (and possibly many 532 764

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 O120 Tiwi O120

532 764

FIG. 5.

things more) of the interred and could reproduce the designs, upon request, with so marked a degree of precision and certainty.

The post that stood alone on the south-western side is no doubt of particular importance (*vide* Plate XIV, Fig. 5b). It stood 123 centimetres above the surface and 11 centimetres in the ground. The circumference at the top, which is flat, is 42 centimetres and the post tapers very slightly downwards (*vide* Fig. 4, E). The post shows no signs of any carving. Its surface is, however, charred, and two simple, but effective, if not grotesque, designs in white pipe-clay have been drawn upon it (*vide* Fig. 5). These, without doubt, are in representation of two crocodiles or lizards, in profile, with their dorsal surfaces opposed but not in contact. I take it that these designs, and consequently this post, represent the family crest of the deceased.

The post at the south-eastern corner (the head end) stood 140 centimetres above and 37 centimetres below the level of the ground, the latter length having been reduced in thickness by about 3 centimetres all round (*vide* Plate XIV, Fig. 5a). The top surface is practically flat. For a distance of 22 centimetres down, the wood has been cut away to a depth of from 3 to 4 centimetres all round (*vide* Fig. 4, F). At that distance it slopes outwards through 3 centimetres of vertical measurement to a collar 7 centimetres in width; it being the same diameter as the main pillar. Below the collar, material has again been cut away circumferentially in a V-shaped fashion; the intervening vertical space between the slopes of this notch measuring but

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

1 centimetre. From this furrow downwards the post has a uniform circumference of 54 centimetres. The colour-ornamentation (*vide* Plate XVII, Fig. 1) is briefly as follows: the portion of post reduced in thickness at the top is yellow for a quarter of its length and red for the remainder. The collar is divided into nine squares, yellow in outline and on a red background. Yellow lines, drawn from corner to corner, intersect at the middle of each square. Below this, the post is divided by five vertical bands. The one that faced the grave is waved: it is drawn in yellow ochre bordered with red. Upon the side diametrically opposite (*i.e.* the side seen on approaching the grave) are two vertical bands of yellow, about 15 centimetres apart. The spaces on either side of them are again subdivided by two slightly curved vertical bands of white, bordered with yellow. Occupying each of the three longitudinal spaces between these white bands are one elongate-oval figure in the centre and one-half such figure at the top and bottom of each respectively. Connected with the top and bottom ends of these figures are singly, doubly or multiply bent processes; the groups being separated from one another by horizontally laid shields. It is clear that these designs are intended to represent human figures in various artistically modified forms. Strange transformations of the limbs into snakes are visible on the left; while similar forms stand alone in the bottom corner of either side.

Such transformations are not infrequently met in primitive art, and from such latitude and privileges on the part of the artist there is no doubt all modern ornamental and emblematical designs have originated. The figures are drawn in red, bordered and shaded with yellow bars and crosses. The central, lowest figure is shaded in imitation of the zamia palm leaf, similar to the body ornamentation described above. All the spaces between the limb-like processes are filled in with bunched circlets or simple and criss-cross shading. The last-named method is also found among the designs of mainland natives.[1]

Next to this head-post, along the north-western edge of the mound, at a distance of about 65 centimetres from centre to centre of post, stands the largest, heaviest, and most elaborately decorated post (*vide* Plate XIV, Fig. 5c). Its height above ground was 160 centimetres; its total length is 203 centimetres. The circumference is from 62 to 64 centimetres. For a distance of about 12 centimetres from the top, material has been cut away at two sides diametrically opposite, to a depth of from 4 to 5 centimetres, but at the points of emergence of an axis at right angles to this diameter, a vertical strip of timber has been left intact; the top is rounded off in the direction of this axis, which, moreover, ran parallel to the long axis of the mound (*vide* Fig. 4, G). Beneath this headpiece, two such notches, as described of the last-mentioned post, have been cut; the width of the collars so formed and the furrows, respectively, being each from 4 to 5 centimetres. The thickness of the part that stood in the ground has been reduced by from 1½ to 2 centimetres all

[1] *Vide* for example H. Basedow: *Archiv f. Anthrop.*, vol. vii, parts 2 and 3, 1908, p. 219 (Fig.).

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

round. The ochre ornamentation is in three colours: white, yellow, and red. The design is quite symmetrical as regards the disposition of its constitutent parts (*vide* Plate XVIII, Fig. 1). In the centre of the post, on the side away from the grave, stands a figure resembling a St. Andrew's Cross, the arm on the left being yellow, bordered with red, that on the right, white, bordered with yellow. On either side of this figure, and at equal distances from it, are vertical bands of white bordered with yellow; in between are various elongate shield-shaped figures, symmetrically placed and enclosing circles or bars. All the remaining spaces are filled in with cross-hatched shading and circlets in the three specified colours. Between the two upper arms of the cross stands a red T-shaped figure, resembling the emu-track of the mainland tribes, but that it is intended to represent such is doubtful, since the emu (*Dromaeius novae hollandiae*) was not observed on either of the islands.

The next post[1] stood 50 centimetres further north-west (*vide* Plate XIV, Fig. 5d). It is the smallest and made of light wood. Its length above ground was 120 centimetres, and the total original length was about 145 centimetres. The last-named measurement could not be taken with accuracy because a dry rot had set in and destroyed part of the timber. The circumference is from 29 centimetres at the top to 26 at the level of the ground. The top surface is rounded off but otherwise the structure is plain (*vide* Fig. 4, H). The colouring (*vide* Plate XVIII, Fig. 2) is as follows: top surface yellow; underneath, for a depth of 10 to 13 centimetres, the post is red, then follow thin alternate horizontal bands of yellow, white and yellow. Below, the surface is subdivided into a number of trapezoid and triangular spaces by two crosses resembling that of the post previously described, the one in white, the other in yellow. Of the intervening spaces, alternate fields are filled in with circlets of red, surrounded by yellow, and arranged in horizontal rows of from one to three, which are separated by horizontal bars of red. The other fields are painted red and are shaded with transverse bands of yellow.

Lastly, the post standing at the foot end of the grave, that is at the north-western corner, was 40 centimetres from the last described. Its total length is 193 centimetres and it stood 156 centimetres above the ground (*vide* Plate XIV, Fig. 5e). The circumference varies from 45 centimetres at the top to 39 centimetres at the ground-level. The top surface is rounded. At a distance of 10 centimetres from the crest, the wood has been cut away circumferentially for a depth of 2 centimetres and a vertical distance of 28 centimetres (*vide* Fig 4, J). From this level to that of the old ground-line the post is plain, but, below the ground-

[1] The posts surrounding the other grave, mentioned in the footnote on p. 314, were apparently of a similar nature. Bush fires had seriously damaged them. One, however, was cut through at a distance of 15 centimetres from the top, leaving only two narrow strips of timber on either side to support the headpiece thus formed. Whether or not a sexual designation was hereby intended I could not definitely ascertain, but presume so. The "spike-like horns at the side" referred to by Mr. Gee (p. 314 above) must be regarded as the remnants of a post of similar type to this whose crown has been destroyed by fire (*vide* Fig. 4, K).

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

level, further material has been cut away to reduce its thickness by about 1 centimetre all round. The top portion, which has the appearance of a knob, has been daubed with red ochre; the sunken portion, immediately beneath, is white (*vide* Plate XVII, Fig. 2). The lower surface of the post bears five vertical bands, three being of white pipe-clay and two of yellow ochre. Two of the former have a border of red, the third one of yellow; and both of the latter (yellow) are bordered with white. Three of the intervening spaces are shaded with inclined lines of white, the remaining two are each filled with a vertical row of white cricoid figures. The original surface upon which the pattern was drawn is charred.

Having persuaded the natives to repaint the designs on the tomb-posts, in places where they were defective or missing, they set about the work with enthusiasm and did not rest until they had repainted the whole of the surfaces. To accomplish this they leaned the posts against trees and divided themselves into small groups of two to four, each of which undertook part of the work (*vide* Plate XVI, Figs. 1 and 2). Youths were sent to the main camp, whence they soon after returned with lumps of red and yellow ochre and white pipe-clay (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 2). From these they broke off small pieces and crushed them by hand in the strong concave shells of the bivalve mollusc *Cyrena essingtonensis*.[1] To this crumbled pigment sufficient water was added to make a thick paint, more water being added from time to time as required. One might look upon these shells containing the mixed paint as representing primitive palettes (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 1). The paint is applied to the surface by means of crudely made, yet effective, brushes. Short pieces of the creeping calamus are cut with the sharp edge of a shell and one or both of their ends chewed until all the fibres have become separated (*vide* Plate XV, Fig. 3); much in the same way as the flower-stalks of the fan-palm are chewed when feeding on honey (*vide* p. 300). Both of these small artists' requisites are highly interesting inasmuch as they show us a decidedly primitive, yet to the present day practically unaltered stage in the evolution of art.

It is evident that the posts have been cut and carved with a sharp bladed instrument, in all probability a tomahawk. Captain Flinders[2] as far back as 1803 noticed that the natives on the north coast (Caledon Bay) were familiar with the use of iron instruments and that they tried to steal his axes. He, therefore, suspected that "they had been previously visited by people possessing iron instruments." Later, he was himself able to confirm this supposition when he discovered, near to Cape Wilberforce, a fleet of proas from Macassar, the crew of which were in the habit of visiting the north coast of Australia to collect trepang, which they took to Timor and sold to the Chinese.[2]

[1] We have before us an interesting analogy, when we recollect that in our own country the shells of fresh-water mussels were, in former days, much used and are still used as a receptacle for mixing water-colours; whence also the name *Unio pictorum*.

[2] *A Voyage to Terra Australis*, London, 1814, vol. ii, pp. 213 and 228–231.

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

When Captain King[1] dropped anchor in Apsley Strait in 1818, and came into contact with natives near Luxmore Head on Melville Island, he noticed that "they repeatedly asked for axes by imitating the action of chopping."

Ethnologically these tomb-posts are of the greatest importance. With the exception of the records left by Jukes and MacGillivray, we know of nothing of the kind existing nowadays on the mainland. That, however, the inhabitants of some of the Torres Strait islands adopt methods of preserving the memory of their dead by means of painted and decorated structures of a different type is an established fact. The Continental Australian certainly, also, has methods of his own to mark a place of burial, but in a decidedly more transitory and less laborious way. The latter leaves already existing belongings of the deceased upon the grave; the islander, in addition, surrounds the spot with specially prepared posts such as have been described herein. Apart from the carvings, the painted designs, alone, are quite superior to anything existing on the mainland. The marked symmetry of the individual patterns and their diversity, when compared with one another, can hardly find a parallel on the mainland. We might look upon these island productions as representing interesting and independent transition stages between the primitive art of the Continental Australian, on the one hand, and the more perfected types of equatorial island tribes to the north of Australia, on the other.

APPENDIX.

NATIVE OCHRE DRAWINGS ON BARK FROM MELVILLE ISLAND, NORTHERN TERRITORY OF AUSTRALIA.

While visiting Bathurst Island in 1911, I also entered several of the inlets of Melville Island from Apsley Strait. At one point, not far from the southern entrance to the Strait, where some aborigines were living in huts near to Cooper's Buffalo-Shooters Camp, I found the drawings here described. They were upon sheets of bark of the Woollybutt (*Eucalyptus miniata*), used for building their shelters and huts. All drawings are in pipe-clay and red ochre; these materials having been smeared or squirted on to the bark in the form of a thin paste or in aqueous suspension. Typical among the drawings of the aboriginals on the mainland are the negative imprints of hands produced by holding the palm of the hand flat against the surface and squirting a mouthful of pipe-clay or ochre, suspended in water, against the back of the hand and around it. The surrounding surface is thus coloured so that, when the hand is removed, its outline stands out conspicuously by the absence of colour.[2]

[1] *Survey of the Intertropical Coasts of Australia*, 1837, vol. i, pp. 111 and 121.

[2] *Vide Trans. Roy. Soc. S. Australia*, 1907, vol. xxxi, p. 56, Plate XII. Among other references note E. Giles, *Australia Twice Traversed*, 1889, vol. i, p. 78. "The drawing is done

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

PLATE X.

501 Fig. 1. "Fish-tail" bark canoes, Apsley Strait.
Fig. 2. "Fish-tail" bark canoes and "dug-out" canoe in the distance, Apsley Strait. Melville Island in the background.

PLATE XI.

Figs. 1 and 2. Bow and stern of "fish-tail" bark canoe. $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Balers made out of the melon shell. Fig. 3 shows the painted decoration of the outer surface; while in Fig. 4 it is seen how the columella of the shell has been removed with a sharp cutting instrument. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XII.

314 Fig. 1. Forest scene on Bathurst Island. From the stringy-barked eucalyptus on the left side
396 of the picture, the bark has been removed for the purpose of making a canoe.
137 Another tree, which has been similarly treated, is seen in the background, near the centre of the picture. In the foreground note a tall specimen of the zamia-palm (*Cycas media*).
501 Fig. 2. Various types of paddles in use on Bathurst Island. About $\frac{1}{10}$ natural size.

PLATE XIII.

764 Figs. 1 and 2. Distant and near view of a native grave, surrounded by five carved and painted posts, Bathurst Island. Note the cleared space and the position of grave, viz.: at the junction between open woodland and thicket. A tall Bathurst Islander in seen in Fig. 2.

PLATE XIV.

415 Fig. 1. A melon-shell (*Melo diadema*) used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Fig. 2. A *Fusus priei* used as a drinking vessel. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
Figs. 3 and 4. Drinking cups made out of folded sheets of paper-bark (*Melaleuca*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 Figs. 5a, 5b, 5c, 5d, 5e. Painted and carved posts of native grave shown in previous plate.
764 $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XV.

415 Fig. 1. A series of four shells of the *Cyrena essingtonensis* which have been used for holding red, white and yellow earth-pigments to mix with water as required. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
317 Fig. 2. Lumps of yellow ochre (on the left), white pipe-clay (in the centre), and red ochre (on
386 the right), used in the decoration of the grave posts shown in previous plate. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
413 Fig. 3. Primitive paint brushes made by macerating the ends of short pieces of the shoots of the climbing palm (*Calamus Australis*). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
301 Figs. 4 and 6. Special corrobboree arm-rings. $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.
532 Fig. 5. A corrobboree mask (?). $\frac{1}{4}$ natural size.

PLATE XVI.

291 Figs. 1 and 2. Bathurst Island natives painting grave-posts. Note the cosmetic body-scars in
532 imitation of the leaf of the zamia palm (*Cycas media*).
764

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

PLATE XVII.

Fig. 1. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5a (Plate VIII) shown in plan; modified forms of the human figure are embodied. 532 764

Fig. 2. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5c (Plate VIII) shown in plan.

PLATE XVIII.

Fig. 1. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5c (Plate VIII) shown in plan. 532

Fig. 2. Coloured ornament of grave-post No. 5d (Plate VIII) shown in plan. 764

PLATE XIX.

Pipe-clay drawings on a sheet of bark of the stringy-barked eucalyptus (*E. tetradonta*), from a native hut on Melville Island. The plate includes negative imprints of hands (Fig. 1), and drawings of a sailing craft (Figs. 1 and 2), and of a frog (Fig. 2). ¼ natural size. 531 532

PLATE XX.

Pipe-clay drawing of pearling lugger in full sail; bark from a native hut on Melville Island. About ¼ natural size. 532

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

764

FIG. 1.

FIG. 2.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 7]
[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE p. 322 - ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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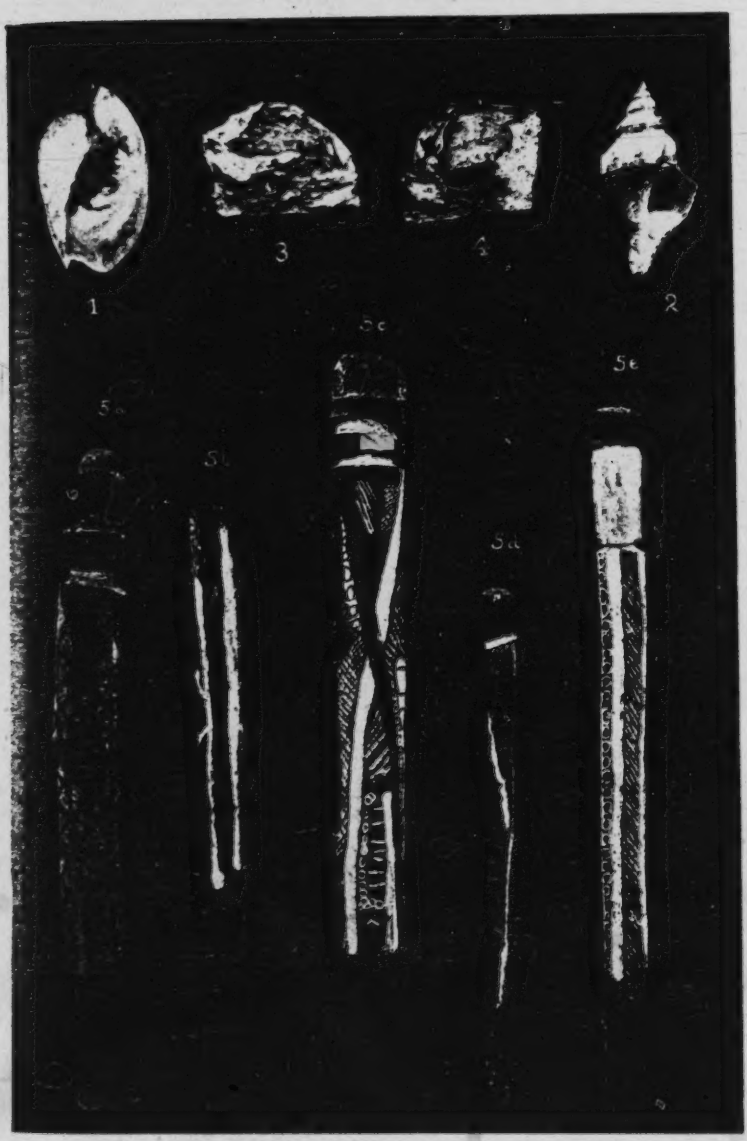

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NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE B]

[FOR EXPLANATION OF PLATE SEE p. 322 -ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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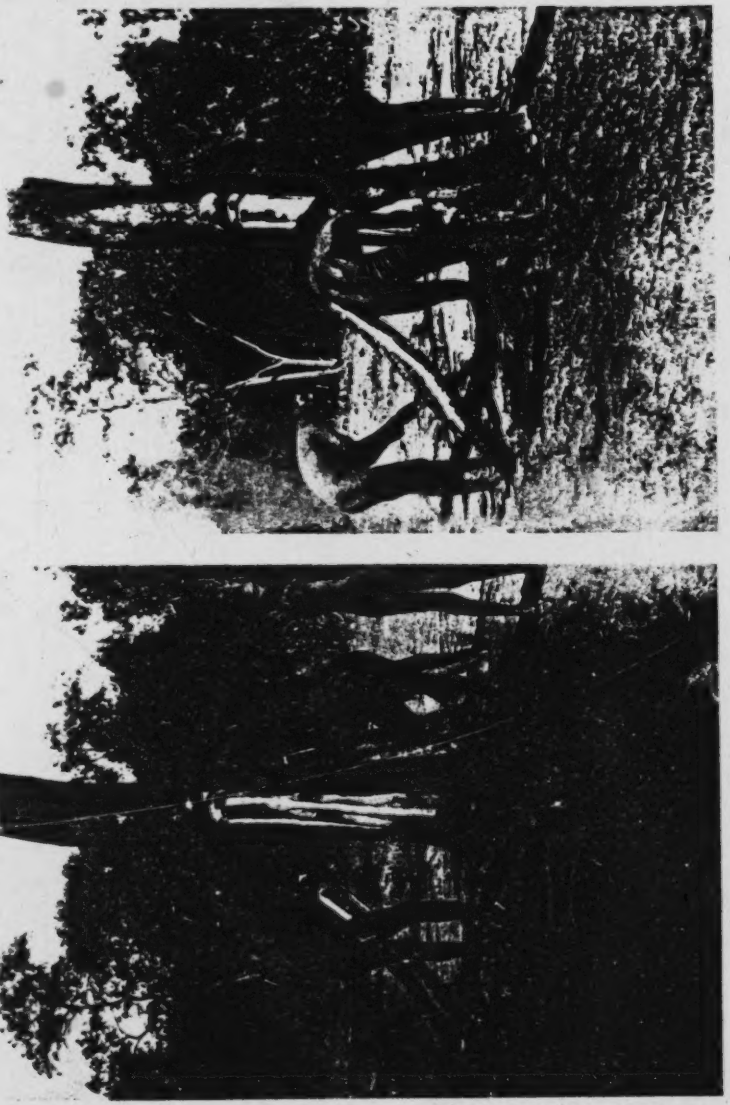

FIG. 2.

FIG. 1.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 10]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE P. 322 - ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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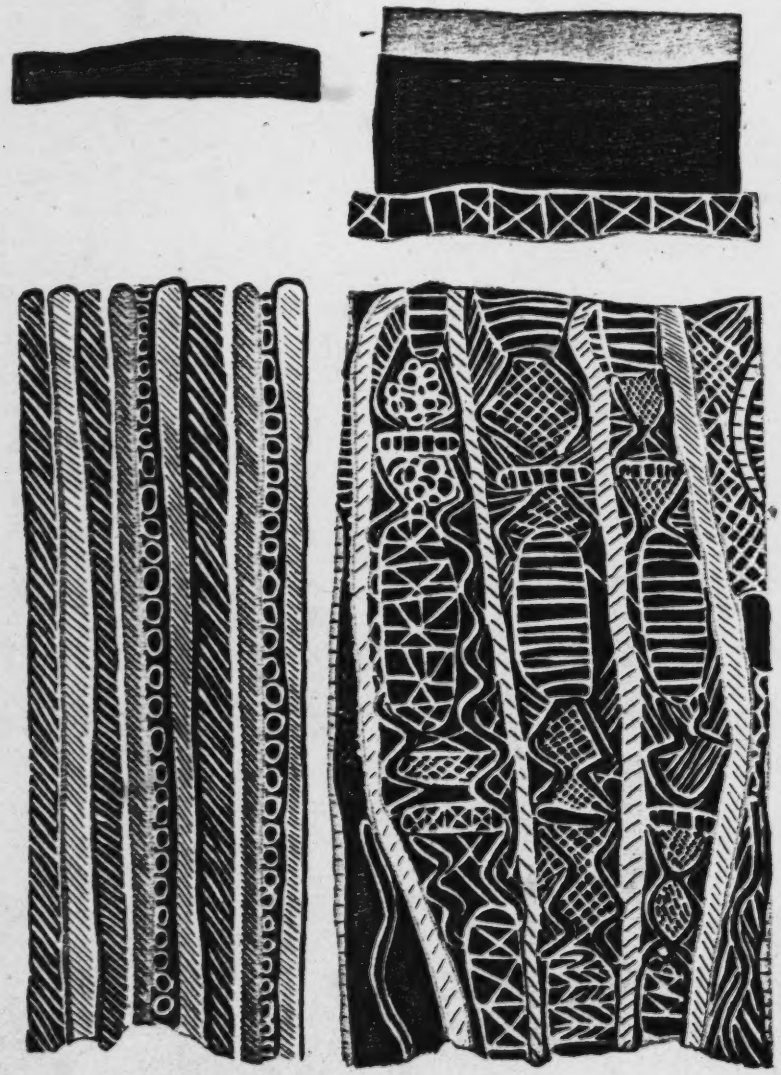

FIG. 2. FIG. 1.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE II]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE p. 323 – ANALYST]

5: Basedow D-5 (1911)1913 OI20 Tiwi OI20

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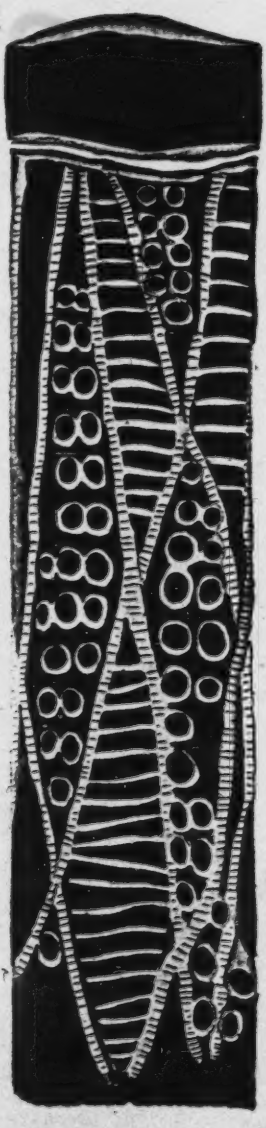

FIG. 2. FIG. 1.

NOTES ON THE NATIVES OF BATHURST ISLAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA.

[END PLATE 12]

[FOR EXPLANATION SEE P. 323 — ANALYST]

9:Harney & Elkin E-4, 5 (ca. 1940)1943 OI20 Tiwi OI20

An interesting thing in the Kulama is that at that ritual a man must not touch his wives or children, because a deadly sweat called *kilamini* comes from his body and will cause any of his nearest who touch it to die.[7]

Another small ritual is the Miringaleta, a puberty custom for girls; it is connected with the Rainbow snake and is also a marriage ceremony. Last of all comes the Pukamane, a death ritual, the purpose of which is to "lay the shade," *emuke:r* of the deceased person and send it back to its clan centre from its wandering around the bush in an endless "walkabout."[8] The "shade" is said to leave the body after a period when the joints begin to crack (the natives call this *Yatarake*); it then immediately hurries to the various camps, emitting a strange cry, "oom—oom." By this sound—the cry of a night bird—the natives know a person has died.

Culture Heroes. They have culture heroes: Purakapale and with him are the "dream time" heroes, Mudarti (the Kurakun of the subincized people), the wedge-tailed hawk, and numerous others all linked together in the legends of long ago; Kuparani, the frill necked lizard and his sister Ikaikgini, the black cockatoo, are characters in the incest tales.

There are also heroes who produced things and turned into animal form, Irakapa, the alligator, the maker and "boss" of the ceremonial spear—*Tumereka*. Rokama, the mosquito, the headman of the ordinary mangrove spear (*Orati*) which is used for everyday work. In making this he copied the speargrass, *Marakarti*.

The Present Day Spirits. Some spirits vitally affect their present lives. Papinowari, or Lamparapari, the destroyer—expressing in a milder form the *Kadaitja* theory of the central natives. Kala is also an ordinary spirit, in fact a shade of a departed native of prowess in the past, who is on the "walkabout." Barminuar is a quaint elusive spirit—an island Peter Pan—who never grows old, and is about the size of a small boy. He is always up to mischief; many tales are recounted of natives meeting with him and always finding him "too clever." In one place they showed me a tree where such a spirit had entered, not through a hole in the trunk, but had just passed through it, splitting it open; the split is there now.[9] The rain spirit is Pakadringa. The lightning is caused by his wife Bumarali, whose axe splits the trees. His other wife, Tomakaka, is the monsoon and when it begins the natives know it is she by the sighs (the hiss of the wind in those rains).

Magic. Their magic is somewhat the same as in other tribes. The idea differs slightly in that with them the aim is to bring the destroyer, Lamparapari, upon the victim. This is done by burning a piece of blood—a hard piece which has dried up—and letting the wind carry the smell to the victim. The latter becomes affected because Lamparapari is attracted by this smell and sucks out his blood.

[7] The name for ordinary sweat is *kulumpara*. It is interesting to compare the Anula belief; if a person is sung with magic, a white exudation appears on the skin, with deadly effect.

[8] These people have no idea of reincarnation; in their view, a spirit is eternal but is never reborn.

[9] Trees often burst like this owing to being hollow and full of water or dirt, the pressure of which bursts them open. This could have given rise to the story.

10:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1962 O120 Tiwi O120

582 and for Tiwi fathers' statements that they can only "find" children
614 in their own country.

Today, with nonlocalized sibs, both the sib and the local group are
582 considered in the exchange of woman, which is direct with reference
614 to sibs but indirect with reference to local groups. Such exchange
621 may in some cases involve sibs and countries or *tungarima*, in others sibs and districts or subcountries. I found that approximately 50 per cent of local-group exchanges were between *tungarima* and 50 per cent within the *tungarima*.

582 With local-group exchange and unilateral cross-cousin marriage preferred and predominant, we have an indirect but circular marriage exchange system. We cannot, however, consider the entire society as being involved in a single marriage exchange system. The system is best seen from the point of view of a single male Ego, whose marriages are systematized according to rules which are society wide, but whose actual marriages are determined by past affiliations which can be and often are variable with respect to sib and local-group exchange.

That the Tiwi system is Ego-oriented is most evident when a
554 male Ego dies and his relatives foregather for his funeral ceremonies
571 (Goodale 1959). If such an Ego has lived a full life, he will be affiliated at the time of his death with a number of social groups. He is affili-
764 ated by birth with a matrilineal sib. By his father's death he is affiliated with a local group and a *tungarima*, which may or may not be the same as the group with whom he currently resides; in either case he is affiliated with the latter and will be buried among them. Through marriage, Ego is likewise affiliated with one or more additional sibs and local groups.

Only those persons who belong to the several above-mentioned
601 groups with which the deceased is actually affiliated are expected to
764 honor him by attending his funeral ceremony. When death occurs, these individuals are terminologically reclassified into four cate-
602 gories, from the members of each of which similar behavior is expected. The spouse and spouse's siblings become *ambarui*. Cross-cousins, MoFa, FaMo, BrDaCh (ws), and SiSoCh (ms) all become *yempi*. Siblings and parallel cousins, MoMo, FaFa, BrSoCh (ws), and SiDaCh (ms), regardless of their sib affiliations, are classed together as *pudawi*. All kinsmen in the first ascending and first descending generations are classed as *unandawi*. Since, however, there is a distinct role differentiation between Fa, FaSi, and SoCh (ms), on the one hand, and Mo, MoBr, and SiCh (ms), on the other, I suspect there may be a terminological distinction which escaped me, inasmuch as these "funeral terms," with the exception of *ambarui*, are no longer in use.

Conclusion

582 In this paper I have considered the form and nature of the varying types of contracts that lead to marriage among the Tiwi. I have

12:Goodale E-5 (1954) 1957 O120 Tiwi O120

Fig. 15. Weather-worn poles mark the grave of someone long dead but not forgotten

bush. He bin die long time ago." This had been his country while alive and it was still his country, for his spirit remains near the grave and still hunts the wild animals and birds, while the spirits of his wives collect the wild yams, and his little spirit children play in the bush. Bangri will share this food with others who come, and their *mobudities,* should they die and be buried in the country, for as long as his name is remembered, and until his grave-posts rot with the passing of time.

But Bangri was not cooperative. The next day the hunters found little game in the bush and the women turned to the laborious job of digging six-foot holes with a stick to obtain the small yams that are to be found at this season. Again the grass was too thick, the snakes too cheeky, and Albert advised against our going bush. I decided the more logical explanation was that Albert considered we ourselves had ample food, and besides he was sincerely worried about his long run of bad luck. But he left with the others that

boomerang, is unknown to the islanders. Ceremonial customs, language, origin, and burial rites all differ from those of the mainland tribes, and constitute an interesting study for anthropologists. They are the only aborigines who erect memorials on the graves of the departed, and, in the forest beside the aerodrome, you may see a typical grave surrounded with queerly-carved ironwood totem-poles. The poles, some eight feet in height, are carved in varying patterns. They had been painted in highly decorative designs with red, yellow, and white ochre, with black bands of charcoal to give sharp and artistic contrast. Each kindred totem to that of the deceased must place a pole at the grave. Failure to erect a pole is supposed to signify that no sorrow is felt for the death, and punishment will follow. Something unpleasant always *does* happen to those who neglect this duty.

AFTER these necessary digressions, let us return to my visit to the mission station. We followed the fathers over the stile, up an avenue of palms, and on through the garden, where pineapples and bananas grow, and there are rows of immense and beautifully shady mango-trees. Sturdy, fuzzy-headed aborigines strode in front (one of them had just come in with a couple of kangaroos for the larder), and the boys trooped along behind us. The quarters of the fathers are very much those of bachelors, perfectly bare, with guns in the corners and a few native weapons and curios hanging on the walls.

Here two lubras brought us morning tea, and here I learnt much of the foregoing matters. The fathers themselves are entertaining men of the world, and their white cricket shirts and khaki slacks gave no indication of their calling. The boys gathered at the foot of the steps leading up to the quarters, and every now and then black-bearded Father McGrath would banter them in their own language. Like all the native peoples

[p. 15 (B)]